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Descripteur(s): *Français (Langue) *Anglais (Langue) *Langue seconde *Langue maternelle *Langue de travail *Attitude de l'étudiant *Groupe ethnique *Secondaire (Niveau)

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L'étude vise à connaître la réaction d'élèves anglophones et francophones face à l'évolution du contexte linguistique au Québec. Il s'agit de savoir si leurs attitudes sont conformes aux nouvelles normes linguistiques qui font du français la langue de travail ou s'ils s'en tiennent aux anciennes normes socio-culturelles qui favorisaient l'emploi de l'anglais dans des situations mettant aux prises des représentants des deux groupes ethnolinguistiques majoritaires.

L'enquête a eu lieu auprès de trois groupes de Secondaire V de la région de Montréal: 91 élèves ayant suivi l'enseignement régulier en anglais, 174 élèves ayant suivi l'enseignement régulier en français, enfin 95 élèves ayant suivi un programme d'immersion française en septième année et ayant continué des cours spéciaux en français par la suite. Les élèves avaient à évaluer une situation mettant aux prises un vendeur francophone et un client anglophone, la même scène étant présentée dans divers contextes linguistiques. Les élèves devaient exprimer leur réaction face à ces conversations et coter les personnages sur une échelle d'attitudes.

Les normes socio-culturelles semblent continuer à avoir le dessus sur les nouvelles normes linguistiques. En effet les élèves francophones aussi bien que les élèves anglophones sont portés à juger le plus positivement l'attitude du vendeur qui adopte la langue de son client, c'est-à-dire l'anglais, au cours de la conversation. Par ailleurs, chaque groupe linguistique est porté à coter le plus favorablement le représentant de son groupe linguistique.

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Changing Language Norms and Language Use in Montreal.

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CHANGING LANGUAGE NORMS AND LANGUAGE USE IN MONTREAL

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Abstract

The current study was carried out in order to examine the extent to which predominantly anglophone students who were learning French as a second language in either immersion or regular programs would accept and/or endorse emerging language norms, which promote the use of French as the "working language" in Quebec, or pre-existing sociocultural norms, which tend to favor use of English in bilingual settings. Students gave their reactions to a simulated dialogue between a French-speaking salesman and an English-speaking customer; the language used by each speaker varied in different experimental conditions, sometimes being French and sometimes being English. Use of English by the salesman and by the customer was accepted and perceived favorably by both anglophone students and francophone students who were included for comparison purposes. Use of French by the salesman, on the other hand, was not viewed as favorably by either anglophone or francophone students. Thus, evidently more value was attached to compliance with existing social norms. Moreover, there was no evidence that immersion students would endorse the use of French in such a situation any more than would non-immersion students. The results are discussed in terms of saliency of social norms and language threat.

March, 1979

CHANGING LANGUAGE NORMS AND LANGUAGE USE IN MONTREAL

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The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal

While many previous studies undertaken in the French immersion programs of The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal have sought to evaluate the effectiveness of alternative programs of second language instruction, others have attempted to investigate some of the social consequences of these programs. The current study is an extension of our interest in this latter aspect of second language learning. In particular, in the present study we sought to explore the extent to which changing language norms in Quebec are reflected in students' reactions to the use of French and/or English in social situations they are likely to encounter in their daily lives. By changing language norms we mean recent legislative and cultural events which seek to make French the day-to-day "working language" of the province so that English- and French-speaking Quebeckers will use French to communicate with one another rather than English as has often been the case to date. At issue is the extent to which anglophone students who are learning French as a second language, whether in immersion programs or regular programs, accept and/or endorse the use of French in situations which might otherwise favor the use of English.

March, 1979

In order to study this question, we presented secondary school students with the scenario of a French-speaking salesman serving an English-speaking customer in a small Montreal store and asked them for their reactions. Much recent research on the social psychology of language use in bilingual settings such as Montreal indicates that speakers of one language, let us say X, will view speakers of another language, let us say Y, more favorable if the latter use the language of the former in communication with them -- in other words X will like Y more if Y uses X's language with X than if Y uses his own language. Y's use of X's language when communicating with him is referred to as speech accommodation (see Giles & Powesland, 1975, for a review of this research). Our scenario of a French-speaking salesman in interaction with an English-speaking customer is deliberately ambiguous with respect to which speaker should be accommodated and which should do the accommodating.

Historical cultural norms which have afforded English considerable status in Quebec (cf. Lambert et al., 1960) along with extant social norms which assert that "The customer is always right"/"le client a toujours raison" would suggest that our French-speaking salesman should accommodate our English-speaking customer. This may mean one of two things: either the salesman should speak to the customer in whichever language the customer chooses to use, which might be either English or French; or the salesman should always address the customer in his native

language in order to facilitate communication. Conversely, emerging language norms in Quebec, as discussed earlier, would suggest that the salesman could at least maintain using French in this situation even if the customer indicated that he would prefer to use English and that, furthermore, the customer should accommodate the salesman and use French. Thus, by varying the languages used by the customer and salesman in our basic scenario we were able to investigate the students' reactions to different patterns of language usage and, in particular, the extent to which they were prepared to endorse patterns which comply with new linguistic norms or patterns that conform to pre-established sociocultural norms. We also included native French-speaking students from Montreal as subjects in order to explore their views on the current relationship between the English and French languages; since we are talking here about dynamic social interactions between English- and French-speaking Quebeckers we felt that it was important to include both in our study.

METHOD

Materials

Tapes

The subjects listened, by means of tape recordings, to simulated dialogues between a salesman and a customer in a Montreal toy store. The dialogue consisted of three speech acts, two by the salesman and one by the customer in the order salesman-customer-salesman. A copy of the script is presented in Appendix

A. A French-speaking Canadian played the role of the salesman and an English-speaking Canadian with competence in French as a second language played the role of the customer. Four different dialogues were recorded varying in terms of the language of response (English or French) of the customer to the salesman and the language of response of the salesman to the customer (English or French); the saleman's initial speech act was always in French. Thus, the four different patterns of language used were:

	Language of:		
Condition:	Salesman (Act 1)	Customer (Act 2)	Salesman (Act 3)
1.	F	F	F
2.	F	E	E
3.	F	E	F
4.	F	F	E

The salesman was always recognizable as a French-speaking Canadian even when he spoke in English because his initial speech act was always in French and because he had a noticeable French Canadian accent. The customer was always recognizable as an English-speaking Canadian because of his noticeable English accent when speaking French.

Questionnaire

Subjects indicated their reactions to each speaker and speech act in a questionnaire consisting of a number of ratin

scales. Nine centimeter straight line rating scales were used; the left-hand side was always labelled "not at all" and the right-hand side "very much". Subjects made their responses by drawing a straight vertical line through the horizontal scale; their ratings were measured to the nearest half centimeter, thereby yielding 18 values.

Subjects were asked to indicate their impressions of the salesman after his first speech act using the following scales: 1) friendly, 2) kind, 3) competent, 4) nationalistic, 5) intelligent, 6) considerate, 7) honest, and 8) anxious to make a sale. In addition, they were asked how likely they would be to buy something from the salesman, and how much they would like to be served by him.

They were asked to indicate their impressions of the customer using the following personal descriptions: 1) considerate, 2) friendly, 3) competent, 4) nationalistic, 5) kind, 6) intelligent, and 7) honest. They were also asked to indicate how tense, comfortable and confident they thought the customer felt in the situation depicted by the tape and how much they thought the customer liked and respected the salesman. They were also asked if they would have responded in the same language as the customer, and what language they thought the salesman should and would use next, English or French.

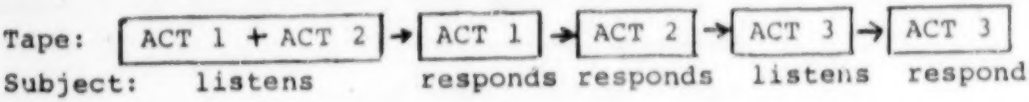
They were subsequently asked to indicate their impressions of the salesman again, after they heard Act 3. They did this

using the same eight scales listed earlier. As well, they were asked to indicate how much they thought the salesman liked and respected the customer. In addition, they were asked to indicate how they thought the customer felt now and how they would feel in the same situation. They did this using the following five scales: 1) pleased, 2) insulted, 3) comfortable, 4) anxious and 5) annoyed.

Procedure

The subjects were tested in a group during their French class in the case of the anglophone students, and during their French or religious studies class in the case of the francophone students. They were told that they would hear a "conversation" between a French-speaking salesman and an English-speaking customer in a small toy store in Montreal. They actually heard each speech act twice -- the first time they simply listened and the second time they answered the relevant questions in the questionnaire. They gave their reactions to each speech act before being presented with and responding to the subsequent speech act. There was an exception to this -- speech acts 1 and 2 were initially heard without interruption in order to give a realistic sample of the conversation. They were presented separately the second time while the students filled out the questionnaire.

Thus, the testing sequence was:



Subjects were given preliminary training to use the rating scales. Testing time was approximately 45 minutes.

Subjects

Three groups of students were included; all were in Secondary V: 1) anglophone students attending English-language high schools and following the regular program of instruction with one French-as-a-second-language course per year from grade 1 on, hereafter referred to as English Control (EC); 2) anglophone students attending English-language high schools who had been in a one-year late French immersion program in grade 7 (see Genesee, Polich & Stanley, 1976, for a description of this program) and had continued to take special French courses in the follow-up years (8-11), hereafter referred to as Immersion (Imm); 3) francophone students attending French-language high schools in the Montreal area and following a regular program of instruction in French with one course in English-as-a-second-language from grade 5 on, hereafter referred to as French Control (FC).

A summary of the size of each language group by experimental condition is presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 here

A summary of student background information collected in response to questions in the questionnaire is presented in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 here

The native language of the FC subjects and their parents was overwhelmingly French -- 96% - subjects; 96% - mothers; and 95% - fathers. Similarly, the vast majority of the FC subjects and their parents had been born in Canada -- 98%-subjects, 98% - mothers, and 94% - fathers.

When asked to choose from the following list of linguistic labels -- "francophone", "anglophone", and "bilingual" -- the one which best described them, the largest number of FC subjects chose the label "francophone" (58%) and an appreciable number chose the label "bilingual" (39%). When given the list of ethnolinguistic labels "canadien français", "canadien anglais", "canadien" and "québéçois", the largest number of them chose "québéçois" (59%) and an appreciable number chose "canadien français" (25%). It is interesting to note the relatively small number (16%) of subjects in the FC groups who chose the label "canadien" as best describing themselves.

The picture that emerges from the responses of the two anglophone school groups is quite different. Eighty-five percent of the EC students and 86% of the Imm students reported English to be their native language, a difference of 11 and 10 points, respectively, from the percentage of FC students reporting French to be their native language. The difference between the FC and EC/Imm groups is even greater when the parents' native language is examined. From 54% to 72% of the EC and Imm students' parents were reported to speak English as a native language while 24% to 34% were reported to speak a native language other than

English or French. A noteworthy number of the anglophone students reported that they had a parent who spoke French as a native language -- the range being 4% to 13%.

The linguistic label chosen most frequently to best describe themselves was "anglophone" in the case of the EC students (49%) and "bilingual" in the case of the Imm students (51%). Fully 41% of the EC students chose the label "bilingual" to best describe themselves despite their having followed only the regular program of French language instruction. Most of the Imm students who did not describe themselves as bilingual chose the label "anglophone" (40%) as the best description. In sharp contrast to the FC students for whom "canadien" was the second least popular self-descriptive label, "Canadian" was the most popular label among both the EC and Imm students -- 67% and 78%, respectively. Also in contrast to the FC students, the anglophone students did not select either the English label "Quebecker" or its French counterpart "québecois" to any appreciable extent.

In summary, our FC samples are quite homogeneous and "pure" with respect to their cultural and linguistic background; they have a strong sense of identity with the French language and the province of Quebec. The EC and Imm samples are more heterogeneous from linguistic and cultural points of view. They have a relatively strong identity with English and with Canada in general.

RESULTS

Presentation and discussion of the results will be broken down into three parts: 1) Act 1 - reactions to the salesman during his opening remarks; 2) Act 2 - reactions to the customer; and 3) a comparison of the reactions to the salesman during Act 1 and Act 3. The ratings on each scale were analyzed separately using analyses of variance procedures. The main variables were language group (FC, EC, Imm), language used by the customer (English, French), and language used by the salesman during Act 3 (English, French). As well, time (Act 1, Act 3) was included as a variable in the analyses of part 3. Newman-Keuls Tests of Multiple Comparisons were performed to isolate significant main effects and interactions revealed by the analyses of variance.

Act 1: The Salesman

It will be remembered that the students gave their impressions of the salesman after having heard the customer respond to him, as described in the Procedure section. Therefore, the students' impression of the salesman may have been influenced by a combination of speech acts rather than by the salesman's speech alone. It will become evident shortly that this was in fact the case for certain aspects of their impressions, although not all. Notwithstanding this qualification, the purpose of this part of the analysis will be to examine the students' initial reaction to the French-speaking salesman.

A summary of the students' ratings of the salesman is presented in Table 3 along with relevant F-ratios, significance levels and degrees of freedom values.

Insert Table 3 here

There were statistically significant group effects on four of the 10 rating scales -- "friendly", "considerate", "honest" and "would liked to be served by this salesman". In all cases but considerate, the Imm students rated the salesman lower on these dimensions than did the FC and EC students; in the case of the "considerate" scale, the EC students also rated the salesman significantly lower than the FC students.

Interestingly, the salesman was perceived differently depending upon the language of response of the customer. In particular, he was rated significantly more friendly, competent, intelligent and "anxious to make a sale" when followed by an English

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Insert Table 4 here

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response from the customer than when followed by a French response. As well, the students indicated that they would be more willing to be served by and more likely to buy from the salesman in the conditions when the customer responded to him in English. This was true for all three groups of students -- there were no significant group by language of customer interactions on any of these dimensions.

Thus the customer's choice of language in response to the salesman appears to have affected the students' impressions of the salesman retroactively. It is not exactly clear why this is the case. One possibility is that by using his native language the customer who responded in English satisfied the social norm operating in this situation; i.e., that "the customer is always right"/"le client a toujours raison". Satisfaction of this norm may have led to generalized positive impressions of the situation and of the participants. In other words, even though the salesman himself in no real way served to satisfy the social norm, he was viewed positively when the customer used English since the social norm was nevertheless being satisfied; furthermore, the salesman's behavior could not be interpreted as interfering with fulfillment of the norm.

In summary, the FC students tended to view the French-speaking salesman somewhat more favorably than did the IMM and EC students; and all three student groups tended to view the salesman more favorably in conditions with an English-responding customer than in conditions with a French-responding customer.

Act 2: The Customer

A summary of the students' impressions of the customer is presented in Table 5.

Insert Table 5 here

There were significant group differences on six of the seven personal dimensions, the one exception being intelligent, and on four of the five interpersonal/situational dimensions, the one exception being confident. The FC students rated the customer as less considerate, friendly, competent, and honest than did the EC and Imm students, less nationalistic than did the Imm students, and less kind than did the EC students. The FC students also felt that the customer was more tense but at the same time more comfortable in the situation than did the EC students -- these two reactions are seemingly at odds with one another. At the same time, the FC students felt that the customer liked and respected the salesman significantly more than did the EC and Imm students. The only statistically significant difference between the two anglophone groups was on the dimension of competence where the EC students rated the customer as more competent. Thus, whereas the salesman tended to be preferred by the FC students, as seen in Act 1, the customer is seen here to be favored by the anglophone students, a type of in-group preference on the part of both groups.

Preferential ratings were assigned to the customer by the EC and Imm students, as indicated above, for the most part regardless of whether the customer used English or French to reply to the salesman. He was seen to be just as friendly, considerate, kind, honest, competent and intelligent in both conditions.

In other words, he was not viewed more favorably when he accommodated the French-speaking salesman, and, therefore, may be said to have complied with the new emerging language norm in Quebec, than when he maintained English. This was equally true for the English- and French-speaking students.

However, there were two important statistically significant group by language-of-customer interactions: one on the dimension "customer likes salesman", $F(2,309) = 3.62$, $p < .05$, and one on the dimension "customer respects salesman", $F(2,309) = 11.56$, $p < .001$. These interactions have been depicted graphically in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 here

Newman-Keuls analyses of these interactions indicate that the FC students attributed more liking and respect for the salesman on the part of the customer when he (i.e., the customer) spoke French than when he spoke English, whereas the EC and Imm students attributed the same degree of liking and respect for the salesman by the customer under both the English and French response conditions. In other words, whereas the use of English or French appears to have had important interpersonal significance for the French-speaking students, insofar as use of French by the English-speaking customer signified some measure of liking and respect, it did not appear to have comparable significance for the English-speaking students. It follows then that the English-speaking person's decision to use English instead of French may have an un-

anticipated negative interpersonal connotation for the French-speaking recipient. The English-speaking students' lack of differential attribution in these two conditions is particularly noteworthy in view of the customer's prerogative to use English by virtue of the social norm "the customer is always right". One might have expected that the customer's failure to exercise this social prerogative and his decision to use French would have led the English-speaking students to interpret his behavior in more interpersonal terms than they did.

All three groups of students agreed that the customer was more tense but also more comfortable and confident when using English than when using French, (see Table 6), more tense perhaps because he was seen to be breaking the language norm which endorses the use of French in Quebec, but, at the same time, more comfortable and confident perhaps because he was using his native language. Finally, all three groups rated the customer more nationalistic whenusing English than when using French.

In summary, as there was evidence in Act 1 of in-group preference among the FC students, there was evidence in Act 2 of in-group preference among the EC and Imm students. The FC students attached more interpersonal significance to the use of French by the English-speaking customer than did the EC and Imm students. Otherwise, all three groups of students formed the same impressions of the customer whether he used English or French.

Thus, it appears that despite recent changes in language policies in Quebec, use of English in commercial establishments may still be viewed as acceptable.

Act 3: The Salesman Replies

Two questions arise in Act 3: 1) How will the salesman be perceived if he maintains French as contrasted to switching to English to accommodate the English-speaking customer?, and 2) Will the perceptions of the salesman's use of French or English take into account the customer's previous choice of language? For example, will the salesman be perceived relatively unfavorably if he uses French when the customer responded in English but not when the customer responded in French?

The salesman was rated on eight dimensions after Act 1, when he spoke French in all conditions, and then again after Act 3, when he used English in some conditions and French in others. Figures 2a to 2h present the students' ratings of the salesman on these dimensions as a function of whether he maintained French from Act 1 to Act 3 or whether he switched to English.

Insert Figure 2a to 2h here

Five of the eight interactions were statistically significant -- friendly, kind, considerate, competent, and intelligent. Newman-Keuls analyses of these results indicate that the EC and Imm students rated the salesman who maintained French less considerate,

less friendly, less kind, less competent, and less intelligent in the case of the Imm students only, after Act 3 than after initially hearing him in Act 1. Even the FC students rated him less considerate, kind and competent after Act 3 than after Act 1 if he maintained French; their ratings of his friendliness, intelligence and honesty, however, were not influenced by whether he maintained French or switched to English.

All three groups of students agreed that the salesman appeared more nationalistic but less honest and less anxious to make a sale when he maintained French than when he switched to English. Thus, the salesman's decision to maintain French seems to have cost him significantly in terms of other's impressions of him -- this was particularly true in the case of the Imm students, to a lesser extent in the case of the EC students and to a much less extent in the case of the FC students.

At the same time, the salesman who switched to English was rated pretty much the same by all three groups after making the switch in Act 3 as he was when he spoke French in Act 1, although he was seen to be more considerate and intelligent by the EC and Imm students when he used English. In general then, the salesman gained relatively little by switching to English. Thus, it seems that the salesman's use of English here was interpreted as compliance with the social norm and not as interpersonal language accommodation. The latter interpretation would have led to positive attributions of the salesman whereas the former would not have

since the salesman would be expected and required by the social norm to accommodate the customer by using English.

With respect to question two, it appears that the students' reactions to the salesman's use of English or French in Act 3 did not depend upon whether the customer himself had previously used French or English, providing additional evidence that the students were responding to the interaction in terms of the social norms rather than in terms of interpersonal accommodation. According to the latter perspective, one would have expected more favorable impressions of the salesman in those conditions when the language he used matched that used by the customer. This did not happen -- the salesman who used French in response to the customer who had also used French was given no credit for his accommodative behavior. Nor was the salesman who used English with the customer who had previously used French viewed more negatively for his non-accommodative behavior.

At the same time, there is evidence also from part 3 of the questionnaire that the customer's reactions to the salesman could be based somewhat on interpersonal accommodation. The students were asked to indicate how they thought the customer felt at the end of Act 3 in terms of the following feelings: pleased, comfortable, annoyed, insulted and anxious. Using the same descriptors, they were asked to indicate how they would have felt themselves had they been in the same situation as the customer.

The effects of most interest are the language-of-customer by language-of-salesman interactions since it is here that we can assess the students' interpretation of the customer's reactions to the use of different combinations of languages in this social interaction -- English followed by English, French followed by English, and so on. The students' ratings on four of the five adjectives describing the customer produced statistically significant interactions -- "anxious" being the one exception. Many of the students did not understand the meaning of anxious and had to be given a definition. Notwithstanding our explanation of the term, their ratings on this dimension may have been confused. The four statistically significant interactions are graphed on Figures 3 a, b, c and d.

Insert Figure 3 here

Newman-Keuls analyses of these interactions revealed the following relevant results. The salesman's use of English was thought to result in generally positive feelings in the customer regardless of which language he had previously used; conversely, the use of French by the salesman was thought to result in less positive feelings. In addition, the students thought that the customer who had previously used French would be just as pleased and comfortable as the customer who had used English if the salesman responded in English. On the other hand, the salesman's use

of English was thought to lead to stronger feelings of annoyance and insult in the case of the customer who had previously used French than in the case of the customer who had previously used English. Similarly, the salesman's use of French was thought to lead to stronger feelings of displeasure, discomfort, annoyance and insult in the case of the customer who used English than in the case of the customer who had used French.

The results pertaining to the students' own feelings, had they been in the same situation as our customer, are largely the same as those just described. Three of the interactions were

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Insert Figure 4 here

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statistically significant in this case -- pleased, insulted and annoyed. Again, the dimension of "anxious" produced no significant effects. A point worth noting here is that these effects did not interact with group membership. In other words, all three groups, even the FC students, said that, in general, their feelings would be less positive in those conditions where the salesman spoke French and less positive in the conditions where the language used by the salesman differed from the one they, as the customer, had previously used. Thus, it seems that the customer's behavior was interpreted with respect to interpersonal accommodation, whereby language matching is valued, as well as in terms of the social norms, whereby use of English in this particular context is valued.

Before leaving this, it is interesting to note that in order to account for the similarity of responses of the FC students when giving their own reactions to this situation and when giving the customer's reactions, one must suppose that the FC students have taken the role of the English-speaking customer; they have not assumed the role of a French-speaking customer. This point is noteworthy because the students have done this spontaneously; it was not strictly required by the wording of the question. Furthermore, having assumed this role, they share the same type of reactions and expectations as our English-speaking students vis à vis the use of English and French in such situations.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Our purpose in carrying out this experiment was to study the views of secondary school students toward the use of English and French in public social situations in the context of changing linguistic norms in Quebec. While our principal interest was in the views of predominantly English-speaking students who were learning French through different methods, immersion vs. regular, we were also interested in the views of French-speaking students who represent the protagonists in the current language change.

There was evidence from the reactions of the students toward the opening remarks of the salesman and to the reply made by the customer of in-group preferences; namely, a tendency for the French-speaking students to view the French-speaking salesman

more positively and for the English-speaking students to view the English-speaking customer more positively. Preference for members of one's own cultural/ethnic/national group is a characteristic reaction of individuals (cf. Genesee, Tucker & Lambert, 1978, for similar findings with elementary school children in Montreal; Middleton, Tajfel & Johnson, 1970, for British children; Piaget & Weil, 1951, for Swiss children). The students' attitudes toward the English-speaking customer were much more polarized than were their attitudes toward the French-speaking salesman. Differential preference for the salesman, while generally less pronounced than that for the customer,was most evident in comparisons involving the Imm and FC students. Insofar as these findings reflect less positive attitudes toward French-speaking people among the immersion students, they suggest that learning another group's language will not necessarily predispose one to view members of the target language group more favorably. More evidence would be needed to establish this possibility more clearly.

Despite the context of in-group preferences, there was evidence from the outset that not only did the francophone students accept the use of English in this situation but that they also accorded it positive value. Thus, we saw that the customer was viewed in the same way regardless of whether he replied in English or in French and that the salesman tended to be viewed more positively when associated with the English-responding

customer than with the French-responding customer despite the fact that the salesman himself always used French in his opening remarks. Furthermore, the salesman who switched to English in Act 3 was not downgraded by the FC students who might have been expected to disapprove use of English in this context owing to their strong identity with the French language and culture in Quebec.

On the other hand, use of French by the salesman was not similarily received. The salesman who used French was not viewed as favorably as the salesman who used English by either the French or English students. Furthermore, in nine of twelve possible comparisons involving the English students the salesman who maintained French from Act 1 to Act 3 was perceived significantly less favorably after Act 3. Even the French students rated the salesman who maintained French less positively after Act 3, although to a much lesser extent than did the English students. Thus, all three groups seemed to be sensitive to the social norm that the customer be addressed in his native language and rated the salesman less favorably when he violated this norm, even if the customer had previously spoken in French. Compliance with the social norm is reinforced in this setting by the fact that the customer's native language is English, which has historically enjoyed considerable prestige in Quebec (cf. Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum,1960).

Comparisons between the Imm and EC groups indicated that the former group tended to react more strongly to violations of the social norm than did the latter group. The Imm students'

apparent lack of tolerance to the use of French in this situation may be viewed with surprise in light of their advanced competence in French. We had noted earlier a somewhat similar negative reaction to the use of French among these students in their perceptions of the salesman. One possible explanation is that the language norms concerning the use of French and English have become less salient to the Imm students precisely because they have achieved considerable competence in the second language. Being able to interact effectively in either language, their decisions to use one or the other may be dependent upon what they regard as more fundamental underlying norms of social interaction; from their perspective, language of communication may be simply the means of expression of these underlying norms rather than an expression of a norm per se. There is some support for this possibility insofar as we saw in Act 2 that whereas the FC students attached considerable interpersonal significance to the use of French, the Imm and EC students did not.

It is also possible that the current evolving language norms in Quebec pose a threat to these English students, EC and Imm alike, and that they may be motivated, therefore, to take advantage of the social norm in this situation to promote the use of English. The Imm students may also feel that in learning French through intensive immersion programs they have demonstrated accommodation to French and may now be seeking accommodation in return through reciprocal use of English. Ironically, graduates

of these bold experiments in second language teaching may be entering a society which seems hostile to them rather than welcoming. These kinds of feelings may cause them to reinforce the use of English wherever socially possible.

A test of these possibilities could be made by reversing the roles of the English- and French-speaking actors so that the salesman would now be English-speaking and the customer French-speaking. This reversal would give the social/situational advantage to French. If the social norms are indeed pre-eminent in the English students' reactions, as suggested by the first possibility, then use of French should be accepted and viewed more positively; if language threat is operative, then use of English would continue to be evaluated preferentially by the English students. This study is currently underway.

The importance of social norms in the students' judgments was also evident in the differential influence attributed to interpersonal language accommodation. Interpersonal accommodation failed to influence the students' impressions of the salesman but did influence the interpretation of the customer's sense of well being. More specifically, the salesman's use of French to accommodate the customer who had responded in French was not reflected in the student's impressions of the salesman although such accommodative behavior was thought to be nonetheless significant in making the customer feel comfortable. Thus, judgments based on interpersonal accommodation did not support the use of French as

part of a language norm, but rather as part of a social norm.

In conclusion, the current findings indicate that the participants in this social interaction were judged primarily according to their compliance or lack of compliance with pre-existing social norms and not in terms of an emerging language norm which seeks to establish French as pre-eminent in Quebec. Positive value that was associated with interpersonal language accommodation seemed to stem from its relationship to the social norm rather than the language norm. Evidently language change has not advanced to the point that use of English is deemed undesirable or that use of French is viewed as categorically desirable in this type of situation by either our English- or French-speaking subjects. Nor does it appear from these findings that advanced second language learning will necessarily precipitate adoption of such norms. Advanced levels of competence in two languages may, in fact, increase the salience of underlying social norms at the apparent risk of violating language norms.

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TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION*

1) Native Language of:

	a) Students			b) Students' Mothers			c) Students' Fathers		
	FC	EC	Imm	FC	EC	Imm	FC	EC	Imm
English	4%(7/174)	85%(77/91)	86%(82/95)	3%(5/174)	56%(51/91)	68%(64/95)	3%(6/174)	54%(49/91)	72%(68/95)
French	96%(165/174)	2%(2/91)	1%(1/95)	96%(167/174)	13%(12/91)	4%(4/95)	95%(164/174)	12%(11/91)	4%(4/95)
English & French	0%(0/174)	2%(2/91)	2%(2/95)	0%(0/174)	0%(0/91)	2%(2/95)	0%(0/174)	0%(0/91)	0%(0/95)
Other	0%(2/174)	11%(10/91)	11%(10/95)	1%(2/174)	31%(28/91)	26%(25/95)	2%(3/174)	34%(31/91)	24%(23/95)

2) Country of Birth of:

	a) Students			b) Mothers			c) Fathers		
	FC	EC	Imm	FC	EC	Imm	FC	EC	Imm
Canada	98%(170/174)	81%(79/91)	84%(79/94)	98%(170/174)	60%(55/91)	61%(58/95)	94%(164/174)	56%(51/91)	60%(56/94)
Anglo. Country	0%(0/174)	11%(10/91)	6%(6/94)	0%(0/174)	5%(5/91)	11%(10/95)	1%(1/174)	7%(6/91)	10%(10/94)
Franco. Country	1%(2/174)	0%(0/91)	1%(1/94)	1%(2/174)	0%(0/91)	1%(1/95)	2%(3/174)	0%(0/91)	0%(0/94)
Other	1%(2/174)	8%(7/91)	9%(8/94)	1%(2/174)	35%(32/91)	27%(26/95)	3%(6/174)	37%(34/91	30%(28/94)

3) Linguistic Identity of Students:

	FC	EC	Imm
Anglophone	0%(0/174)	49%(44/90)	40%(38/94)
Francophone	58%(100/174)	0%(0/90)	2%(1/94)
Bilingual	39%(68/174)	41%(37/90)	51%(48/94)
Other	3%(6/174)	10%(9/90)	7%(7/94)

4) Ethnolinguistic Identity of Students:

	FC	EC	Imm
English Canadian	0%(0/174)	22%(19/85)	16%(15/94)
French Canadian	25%(44/174)	3%(2/85)	1%(1/94)
Québécois	59%(103/174)	0%(0/85)	1%(1/94)
Canadian	16%(27/174)	67%(57/85)	78%(73/94)
Quebecker	Not given	8%(7/85)	4%(4/94)

*Values in parentheses are raw numbers.

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF RATINGS OF SALESMAN

- ACT 1 -

		FC	EC	Imm.	F-ratio	df
i)	Friendly	6.92	6.92	6.58	2.90	2,309
ii)	Kind	7.03	6.58	6.17	10.49***	2,309
iii)	Competent	6.48	6.74	6.62	.14	2,309
iv)	Nationalistic	4.89	5.08	4.75	.22	2,309
v)	Intelligent	5.33	5.64	5.55	1.55	2,309
vi)	Considerate	6.77	6.12	5.89	11.35***	2,309
vii)	Honest	5.91	5.80	5.36	4.45**	2,309
viii)	Anxious to Make a Sale	6.76	7.36	7.01	1.61	2,309
ix)	Likely to Buy From	3.90	4.66	4.13	1.59	2,309
x)	Like to be Served by	4.76	4.82	4.24	4.53**	2,309

**p < .01; ***p < .001

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT RATINGS OF

SALESMAN BY LANGUAGE OF CUSTOMER

- ACT 1 -

		Customer Spoke English	French	F-ratio	df
i)	Friendly	7.07	6.58	4.16*	1,309
ii)	Competent	6.91	6.24	4.45*	1,309
iii)	Intelligent	5.72	5.20	8.12**	1,309
iv)	Anxious to Make a Sale	7.38	6.56	8.68**	1,309
v)	Want to Buy From	4.52	3.77	5.59*	1,309
vi)	Like to be Served by	5.01	4.24	6.88**	1,309

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF RATINGS OF CUSTOMER

- ACT 2 -

		FC	EC	Imm.	F-ratio	df
i)	Considerate	5.99	7.13	7.00	13.55***	2,309
ii)	Friendly	6.02	7.34	7.12	14.09***	2,309
iii)	Competent	4.72	6.25	5.62	15.07***	2,309
iv)	Nationalistic	4.53	4.96	5.31	5.53**	2,309
v)	Kind	6.56	7.06	6.95	3.04*	2,309
vi)	Intelligent	5.48	6.13	5.93	2.94	2,309
vii)	Honest	6.32	7.31	7.37	10.39***	2,309
viii)	Tense	4.44	3.76	4.01	4.06**	2,309
ix)	Comfortable	4.50	3.89	4.13	3.67*	2,309
x)	Confident	4.00	4.30	4.28	1.39	2,309
xi)	Customer likes Salesman	5.62	4.70	4.60	12.57***	2,309
xii)	Customer respects Salesman	6.60	5.02	5.39	7.15***	2,309

*$p < .05$; **; $< .01$; ***$p < .001$

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT RATINGS OF

CUSTOMER BY LANGUAGE OF CUSTOMER

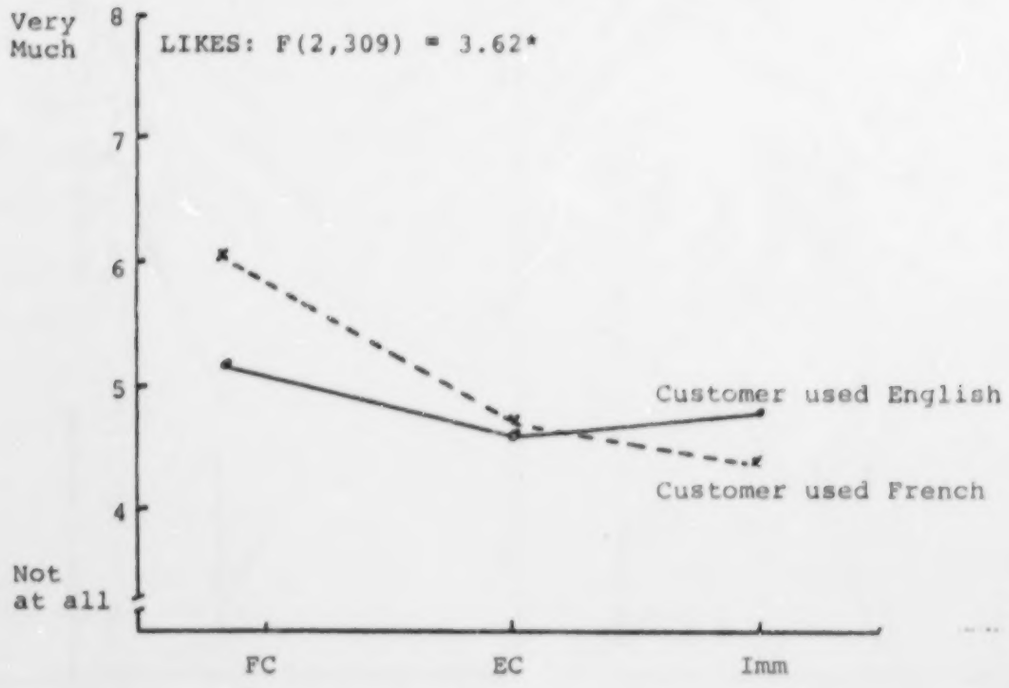
- ACT 2 -

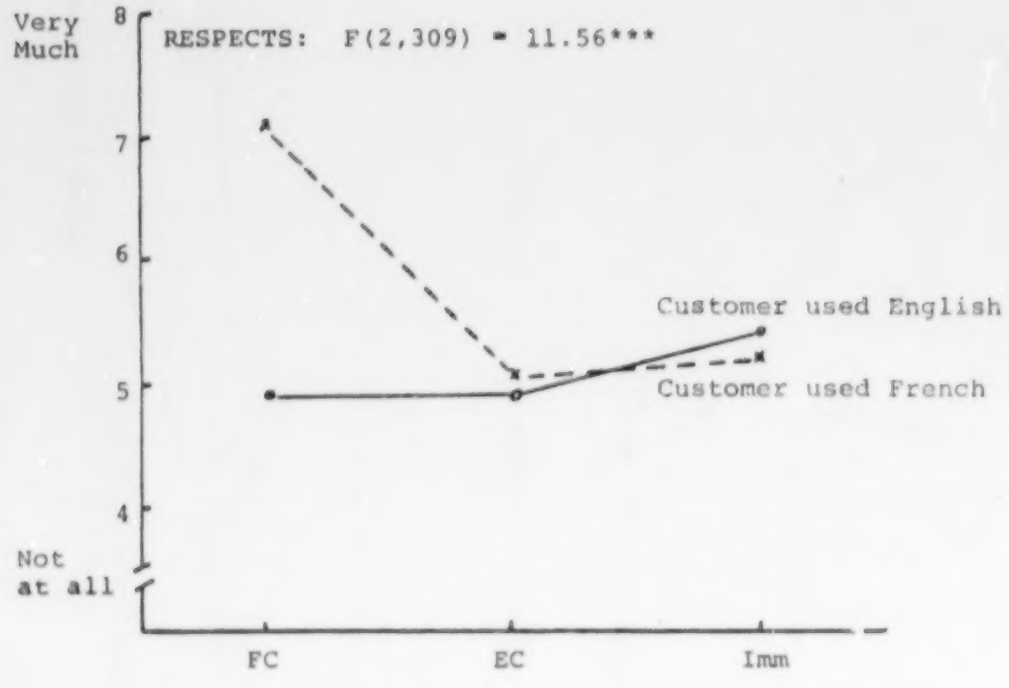
		Customer Spoke English	Customer Spoke French	F-ratio	df
i)	Nationalistic	5.19	4.47	6.40*	1,309
ii)	Tense	4.65	3.62	9.55**	1,309
iii)	Comfortable	4.74	3.72	14.03***	1,309
iv)	Confident	4.46	3.82	5.07*	1,309

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

FIGURE 1

ACT 2: CUSTOMER LIKES AND RESPECTS SALESMAN





*p < .05; ***p < .001

FIGURE 2: ACT I - STUDENTS' IMPRESSIONS OF SALESMAN

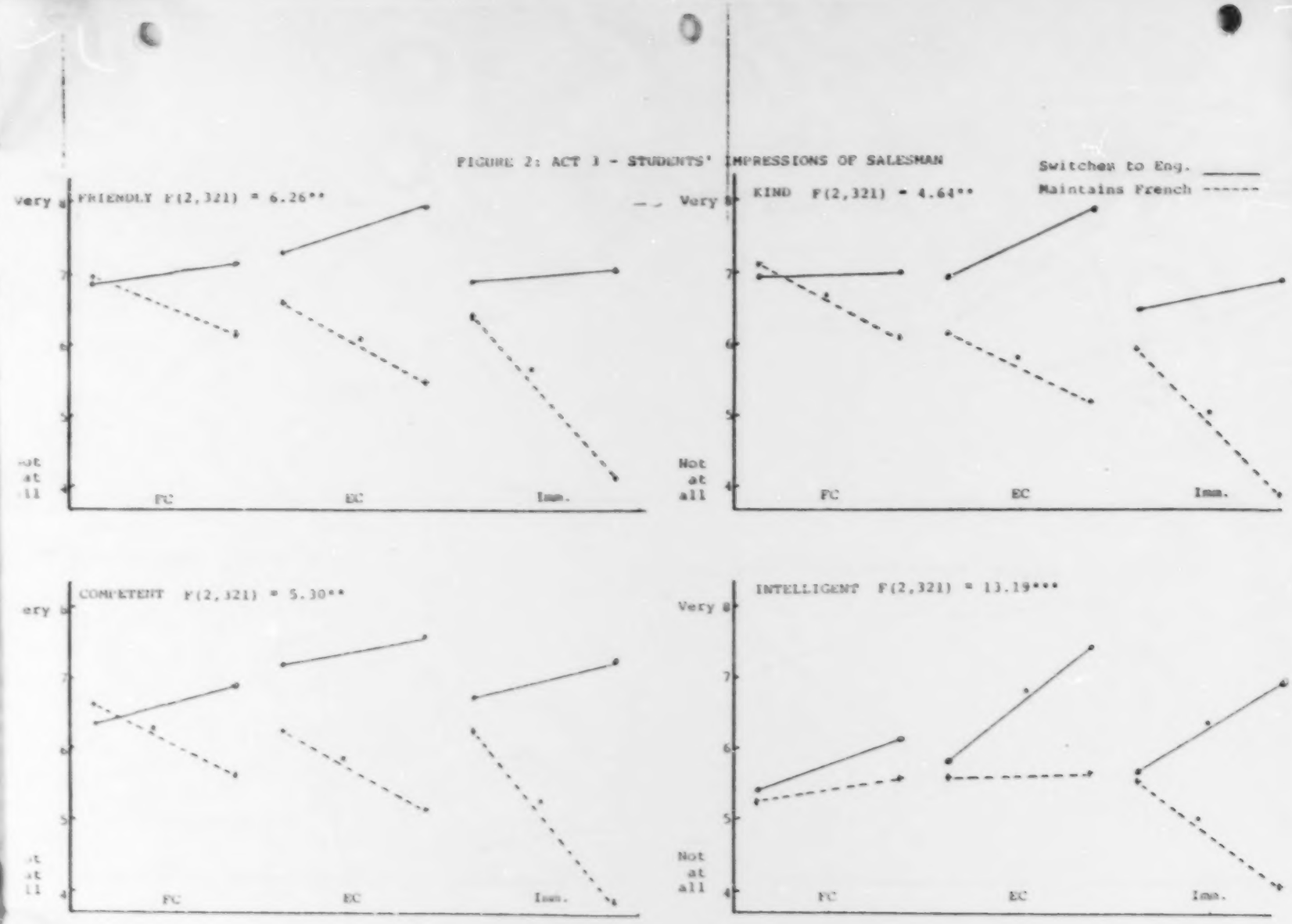
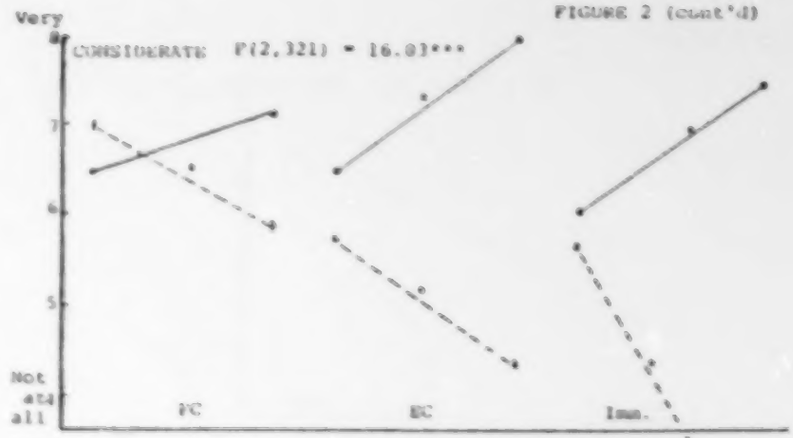
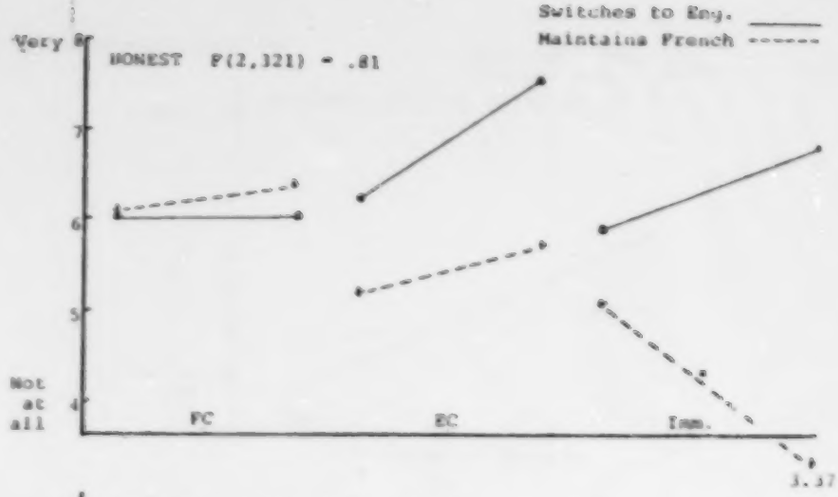
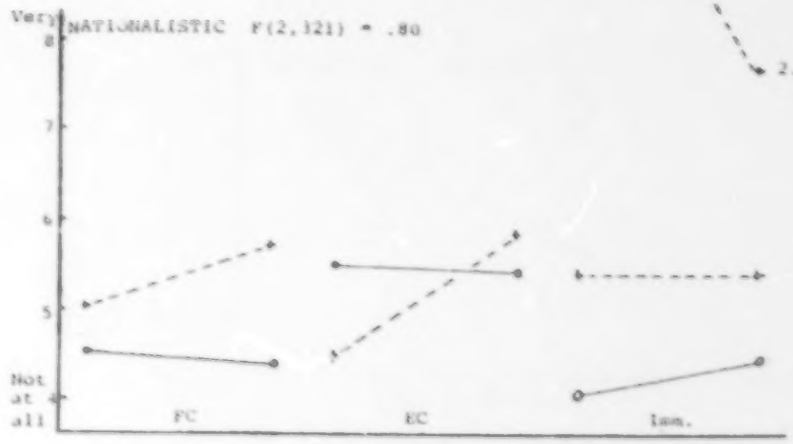
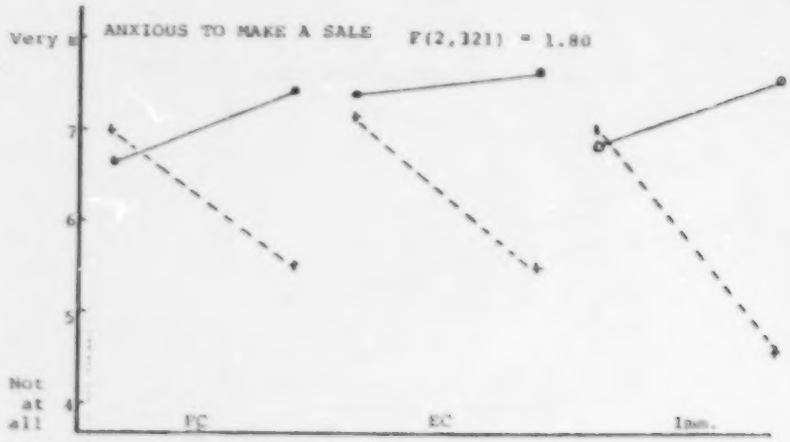


FIGURE 2 (cont'd)



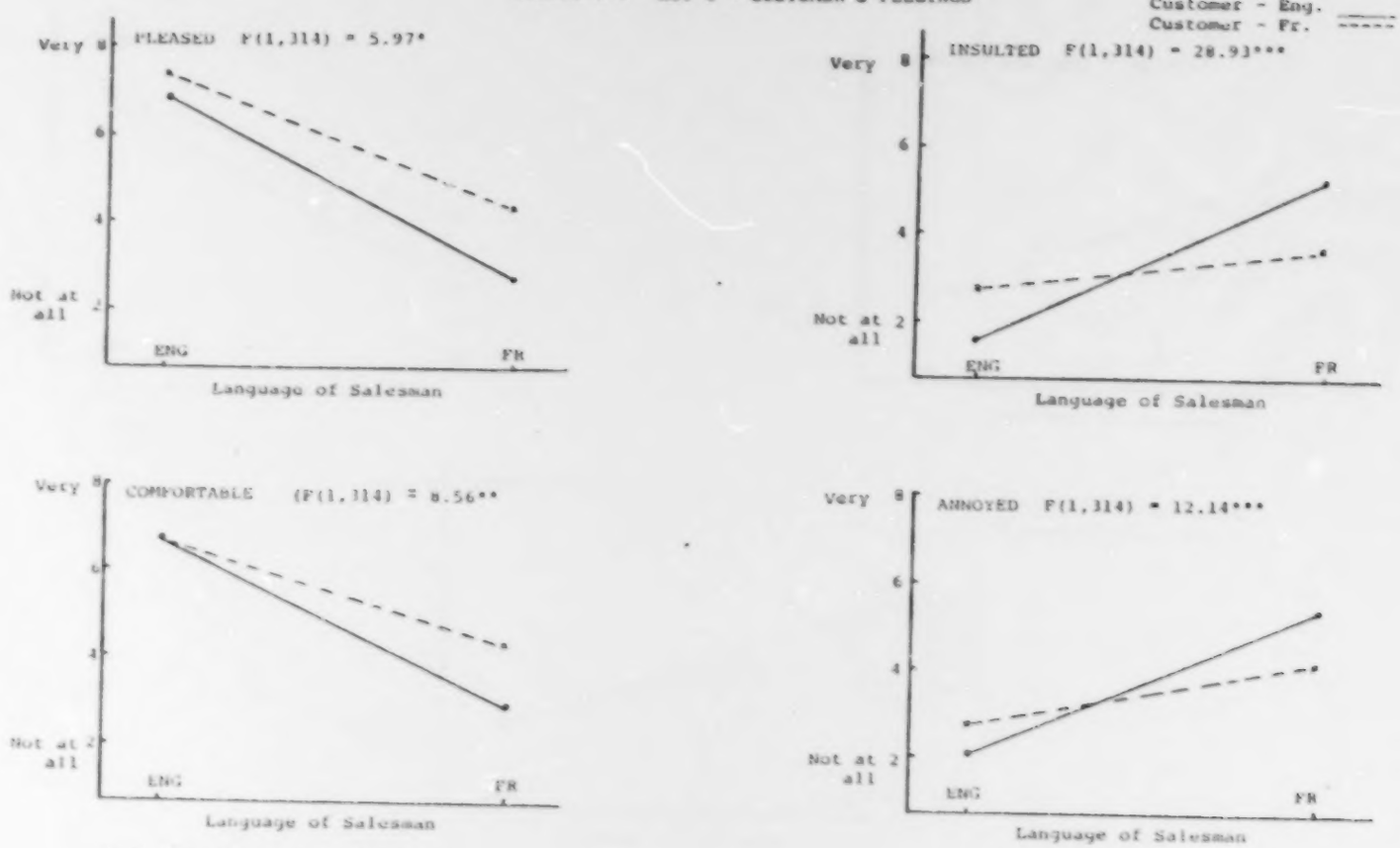






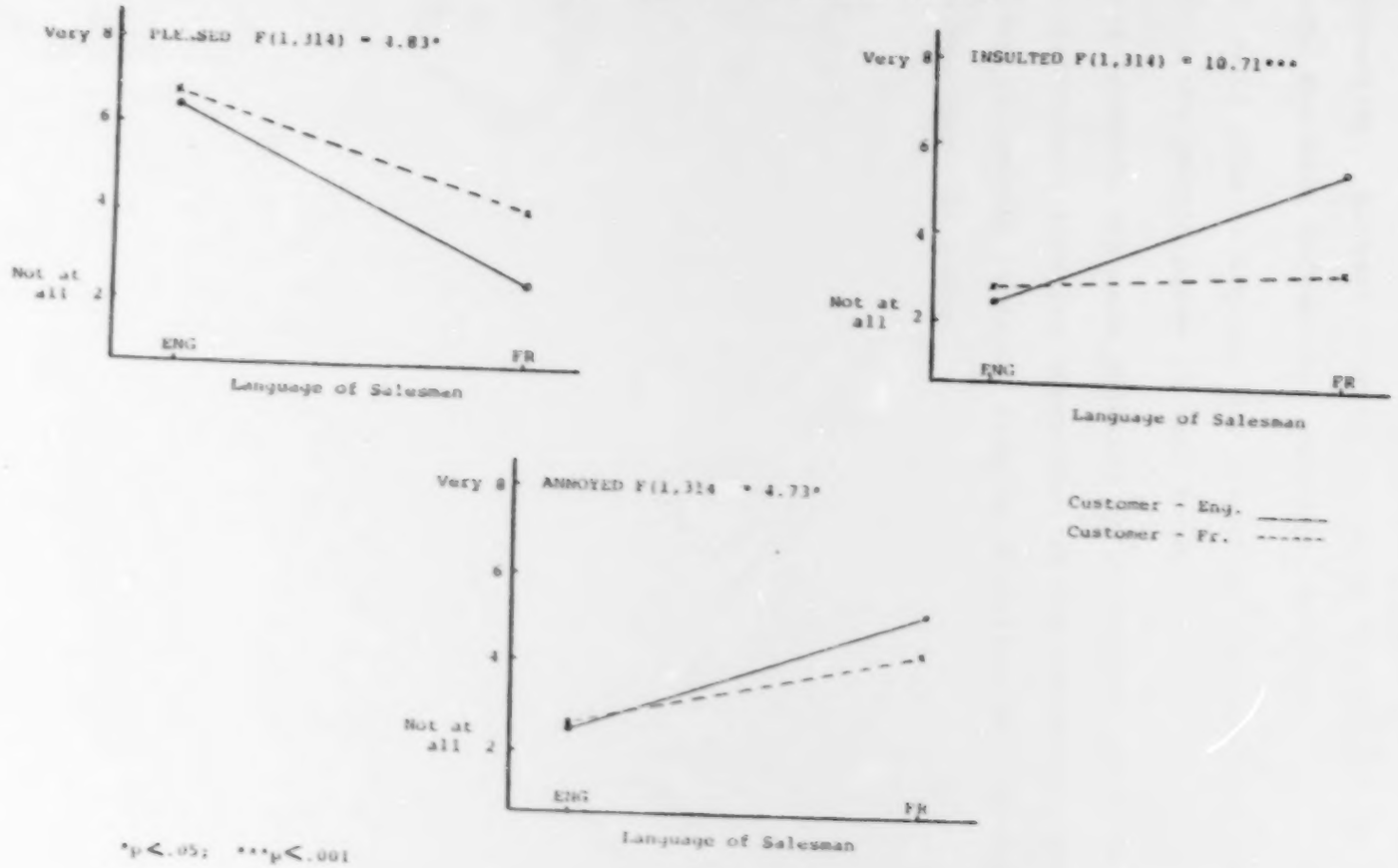
*p < .05

FIGURE 3 : ACT 3 - CUSTOMER'S FEELINGS



*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001

FIGURE 4: ACT 3 - STUDENTS' FEELINGS



*p<.05; ***p<.001

FOOTNOTES

1. Fred Genesee is now at the Psychology Department of McGill University. Richard Bourhis is now at the Psychology Department, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

2. We would like to express our thanks to the teachers and students who participated in this study.

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TABLE 1

SAMPLE SIZES BY STUDENT GROUP

AND EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION

Condition	FC	EC	Imm
1	36(21/15)*	24((6/18)	18(12/9)
2	41(25/16)	30(12/18)	27(7/20)
3	38(20/18)	17(8/9)	21(11/10)
4	39(21/18)	20(6/14)	19(9/10)

*Numbers in parentheses indicate number and males and females respectively.

APPENDIX A

SALESMAN - CUSTOMER DIALOGUE

Act 1: FC Salesman in French

Bon bien bonjour...puis j'espère que le jeu de mécano va faire l'affaire....vous reviendrai....Bon,....bonjour Monsieur....on a un assez bon choix de jouets pour les enfants....J'peux vous aidez à trouver quelque chose?

Act 2: EC Customer in English

Hmmmm... Well, ...Yes, I think you can help me..... I'm looking for a toy that a seven year old boy would like.... it's his birthday next week.... can you suggest anything??....I used to like wooden toys, but I don't know what kids like now....do you have something to show me?

EC Customer in French

Hmmmm... Well, ...Yes,...je crois que vous pouvez m'aider. Je cherche un jouet pour un garçon de septs ans, ... c'est son anniversaire la semaine prochaine,.... avez vous quelque chose à me montrer?... Moi,quand j'étais plus jeune,j'aimais bien les jouets de bois, mais aujourd'hui, je ne sais pas ce que les enfants aiment.... Vous avez quelque chose à me montrer?

Act 3: FC Salesman in French

Et bien... je crois bien que je peux vous aider....pour les enfants de sept ans on a un très grand choix de jouets.... Premièrement,.... dites-mois si vous voulez un cadeau pour jouer à l'interieur, ou pour jouer dehors au grand air....?

FC Salesman in English

Ah, Qui,..., I think I can help you....for children of seven years of age, we have a very good choice of toys here,.... First of all, can you tell me if you want a toy to play inside the house or one for playing outside?